ancient warnings. G. Kellow then assumes the role of Cicero for 21st-century audiences. Turning to a familiar theme of decay and the potential influence of money, 'liberal modernity' is faulted for its emphasis on the present just as, it is argued, Cicero critiqued the late Republic. Yet in the case of Cicero we are dealing with rhetoric – often invective – and a recurring *topos* of decline, not of democracy to oligarchy but of aristocracy to oligarchy/monarchy.

The collection's desire 'to draw lessons [from ancient texts] for today's global politics' (x) situates it in a long-standing tradition. An anonymous pamphlet printed in London in 1748 analysed many of the same ancient texts in an attempt to persuade readers that, despite the claims of the press, the British government was not an oligarchy. Similar invectives can be found levelled against subsequent manifestations of 19th- and 20th-century republics. Above all else, therefore, the present volume demonstrates that the label 'oligarch' remains nebulous, though as potent now in invective as it was for Athenian 'democrats'.

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FUNKE (P.) and HAAKE (M.) *Eds*. **Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration. Proceedings of an International Conference of the Cluster of Excellence 'Religion and Politics' Held in Münster, 17.06. – 19.06.2010.** Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. Pp. 244. €52. 9783515103077.

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The present book brings together 13 papers in English, German and French which were presented at an international congress held at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster in 2010. Highly thought-provoking, these essays challenge the bi-polar view of Greek sanctuaries (normally classified either according to individual *polis* or Panhellenic context) by focusing on a type of sanctuary that falls outside this classification: the sanctuaries of Greek federal states. Aiming primarily to examine relations between the religion and politics of the Greek federal states, they pay particular attention to how such sites helped to integrate different communities of theoretically equal groups. By looking at individual federal sanctuaries, the essays not only cover various areas and periods, but also reveal differences and similarities between political mechanisms of integration. In contrast to more traditional studies, many of the papers here consider not only the principal sanctuaries that served the leagues, but also the lesser ones and their multiple articulations with the federal sanctuaries. They also clearly demonstrate that integration is not always a linear process that occurs without dispute among members of an *ethne* (for example A.D. Rizakis, A. Ganter, K. Buraselis) and thus ultimately question the meaning of integration.

Given the impossibility of analysing all the papers in one short review, I shall confine myself to a few.

P. Funke studies the political role of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Thermos, the central sanctuary of the Aetolian League, by considering the entire sacred landscape, including the other sanctuaries controlled by the same league. One key contribution of his paper is the clear distinction he draws between the two principal festivals of the Aetolian League: the *Thermika* (which reinforced the bonds between members of the league and was always celebrated at Thermos) and the *Panaitolika* (which was celebrated by the expanded league that also included new members who were not from the Aetolian branches; this festival was celebrated at various sanctuaries). The differences in the festivals' locations points to the dynamism and evolution of the cult and league over time. Similar dynamics can be observed in the cult of Zeus Homarios in Helike (paper by A.D. Rizakis) and in southern Italy (paper by M. Fronda).

J. Roy's contribution brings new insights on the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Olympia, which is also shown as a place fundamental for the binding and promotion of the Eleans who used the sanctuary to promote their identity to the Greek world.

In his paper, M. Hatzopoulos discusses the singular central sanctuaries of the Macedonians, which should be understood in relation to the monarchic nature of the state. Whereas the sanctuary at Dion is linked with the 'national capital' of the Macedonians, the one in Aigai is related to the 'royal capital'. Each of these sanctuaries was also dedicated to a different divinity (at Dion, it was Zeus Olympios, the mythical father of Macedon; in Aigai, Heracles Patroios, legendary ancestor of the dynastic kings). The author shows that having a different patron god at each sanctuary is a manifestation of the dual nature of the state.

K. Buraselis, the only contributor to deal with the Aegean islands, analyses three regions and their federal sanctuaries: the Cyclades with their league of islands (Nesiotai), Lesbos and Crete (which actually never had a federal sanctuary). The author argues that federalism could not advance very much on its own during Hellenistic times due to the geographical features of the Aegean region, which was simultaneously divided and united by the sea. The author rightly concludes that federal developments around central sanctuaries assumed mixed forms, marked by the independent initiatives of members, and remained dependent on the actions, major political goals and support of hegemonic powers (for example both kings and large cities). Finally, T.H. Nielsen argues that even if the sanctuaries of Triphylia and Arkadia could be identified, it would be difficult to determine if they ever functioned as federal sanctuaries as the federation existed for a very short time.

The volume does not include an index, which would greatly facilitate its consultation. Nonetheless it deserves considerable praise, not only for examining the various multifaceted ways in which the federal sanctuary functioned and evolved, but also for challenging many traditional concepts hitherto used to comprehend this phenomenon. It will thus appeal to anyone with an interest in ancient religion and politics.

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CHANKOWSKI (A.S.) **L'éphébie hellénistique. Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l'Asie Mineure** (Culture et cité, 4). Paris: de Boccard, 2010. Pp. 621, illus. €85. 9782701803050.

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This is an excellent study of an institution that was central to many Greek cities of the Hellenistic period. The book, whose real date of publication is December 2011, is the reworked version of a doctoral thesis defended in Warsaw in 1996. The well-worn term 'long-awaited' is for once truly appropriate, for, in the intervening years, the book's imminent publication was repeatedly and tantalizingly referred to in a series of preparatory articles. Almost inevitably, some of its main themes have been explored by others during that time (for example the papers in D. Kah and P. Scholz (eds), *Das hellenistische Gymnasion*, Berlin 2004; A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, Malden MA 2005; É. Perrin-Saminadayar, *Éducation, culture et société à Athènes*, Paris 2007; C. Brelaz, *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le Principat*, Basel 2005). Only the first of these titles has made it into Chankowski's bibliography.

Simply to call this a reworking does not do justice to Chankowski's achievement. Although his main arguments have not, one suspects, fundamentally changed since 1996, the breadth and depth of the author's scholarship and the thoughtfulness and intellectual rigour with which he makes his case (and holds it up for questioning) can only be the result of many years of reflection. The book covers a lot more ground than its title indicates – thematically, geographically and chronologically – and far more than a short review can do justice to. It is based on a close study of a large body of – mainly epigraphic – evidence, all of which is presented for easy consultation in the 100-page catalogue at the end, whose 444 entries, geographically organized, contain brief but important and often searching discussions (relevant sections of text are cited). This appendix forms an essential complement to the discussion in the main text.

Chankowski's central thesis has two elements: first, that the institution of the *ephebeia*, which became one of the main markers of Hellenistic *polis*-identity, spread widely in the wake of Alexander's conquests and was adopted from, and modelled on, the late fourth-century (335 BC) Athenian prototype of the so-called 'Lycurgan' *ephebeia*, itself probably a reformed version of an earlier fourth-century institution; secondly, that it was the Athenians themselves who adapted, in the course of the fourth century BC, a vocabulary centred on ἥβη ('manhood', 'prime') and its derivatives (ἐφηβᾶν: 'to be on the threshold of manhood') for technical, institutional, purposes. The newly-coined noun *ephebos* thus came to be used for members of the annual cohorts of young citizen-males who, from the age of 18, collectively underwent an intensive two-year military (and ideological) training.

The emphasis on the technical character of the word *ephebos* is important for Chankowski. The modern use of the word 'ephebe', broadly referring to an age category (late adolescence) and a physical 'type', is inspired by art-historical terminology, which itself derives from late antique usage. This, the 'non-technical' sense of *ephebos*,